Flores OF9
Javanese OF5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4

[414 cont.]

important festivals and the ancestors.

Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers quite a large area.

Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

●361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into 361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the 291 mountains. On the evening of the day before I 515 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

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773 from van Suchtelen, [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
●361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner* says for Rea Ndona) until
[231] they rotted. Then there was a great feast with the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

*[See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea, but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende in the bay and the mountains all around. The road is extremely dangerous, especially when the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
●36 side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende, is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage rules. We also talked a little about a map and the schedule with the assistant. Then we took them back to the kampong. We did nothing more that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a means of getting around. They are all mad over the camera and talk constantly about photographs I should take and give to them. I could easily lose my patience with them. They keep asking for things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But we had to take photographs, and I was almost deluged with requests for more from all sides. I took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me through the interpreter to take her photograph before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a terrible struggle insisting that I could take

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764 178 It is done in one day now, because the body begins to smell otherwise.

144 361 [197] The physical types in the mountains, the Lio folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende coastal dwellers but with a different accent, and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impression [181] that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 197 771 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I 778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it.

291 286 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The older men have the same betel teeth. The younger men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing, however, is no longer significant here. The design I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but several of the young, go about with bare breasts. When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish. They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I saw no cattle. There are many small horses here too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing band of fine looking horses who had gone wild after escaping. They can never be recaptured. I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and asked me if I could see the spirits. They are going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when they are caught off-guard they agree that there are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

961 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with houses scattered about and the most conspicuous things being the stone graves.

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] [377] 197 It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka. There is no electricity except in the mission, and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The

144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a

● 361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 361 The next day we started out to see the area behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamië, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamië, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat

632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there, and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer type, and it is strange that she is not married. I get the idea there is some friction between her and her father. She had five years of schooling at the sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office), and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daughter says this is all right as she was from Larantuka. If she were from any kampong behind the mountain, this would have been impossible. The house was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter. The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We talked a great deal about adat and then came back to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kampong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong for this). Women were also hauling water from this place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon. There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as many as one hundred houses and a possible population of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. #3—Analyze]

We
789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not appear any longer because the people do not feel the need for them. But if one called them, they could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars are inherited from father to his successor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as usual, and they came along to a stage of talking in a way that would horrify the priests. At one point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're talking like Kafirs /unbelievers, infidels/." There is plenty left here of the old paganism, and I can see why the priest said it would be / easy for them to slide back into their former habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest there are feasts and many gatherings. This may be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills. Then they moved down to the coast where there is a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only about thirty years ago to their present location. The first move was the result of the government pressure to make them come down out of the hills. The second move was halfway back to the hills. Leloba has moved only once, that being the original move down from the higher hills. Wailolong and indeed other kampongs here have grown fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions, better medicine, etc. They know this well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

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291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then the road headed into the mountains, and after
• [361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically uninhabited (as usual between the coast and mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
797 and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station at Todabelu, where there were many modern buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well as a trade school. All of these were notably advanced over anything else we have seen in Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd for the day, and football games were held. These are the great sport all over Indonesia now, and it is coming even into the remote kampongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is striking, especially that of the men. It consists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed teeth, and in addition many had blackened them. Earboring is a general practice here, but as usual the younger men may have the holes but no rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot, although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded roofs. They are built on piles definitely, unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses built on a single post. They are called nadu

311
241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great economic problem.

114 He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly
proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid
blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
• 361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled penin-
sula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl
from the hospital in Mborong who was going to
school in the mountains. She got sick on the
way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw
a tree house on the way. Underneath it were
some Mongoloid looking men and they said they
were iron workers who were working on a bridge.
They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They
were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they
have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and
up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and
dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped
around and by some sillily dressed boys who went
through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin
and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted
of a few horns. A small child held up the music
for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide.
The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the
fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and
instead of them they now have these imitation
things which are bad beyond belief.

We
793 The next morning we went to the mission and
124 met several priests, including the rector, van
Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art.
He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[793] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are no other obvious signs of pagan religion in the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask about. It looks as though it might have been a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and the stones around it. The photo of the stone figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double kampong, with two main parts, and it has therefore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
[291] tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes, and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beautifully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge shapes with a common center. There are many adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is because it is easier to fence them in this fashion, but I suspect there is some cosmological significance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle, and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cit. 113--Analyst]

We.

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex arrangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
55 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

●361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

347 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
●361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

243 Every-
251 where around the earthen plaza there are corn drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation, with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

782 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
346 telen says are offering posts set before each house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru, [361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which 'Suchtelen' got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five siblings from Java. [186] He agreed that every area had its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

614 ● 361 Then I checked the place of origin of the suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawotonda [778] there are stones and cannon. But the [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
●361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

377 181 I am glad I shall be leaving this truly forsaken island before long. It gets on one's nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

Wa 648 • 361 In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move down from the old hill location to the present location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

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361 [648] hills and down to the coast. This caused much malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 438 [166] No one, but no one, has moved into the kampong, except for women marrying in (and the two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 648 Roy said that all who have been to jail have seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up constantly. 648 The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a high and a low language, but I wonder if this may not mean that there is merely a polite idiom. Here in this area they all speak the same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the listed posts. One must be respectful to the uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to interclass marriage, and everything depends upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However, the entire upper "nobility" is really integrated with the commoners. That is, there is no heaven descent. They are just like the other people, except genealogically they are ranked a bit higher. All power also depends on descent.

793 In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala, started his religious work. He had been converted before this at the school in Larantuka. At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

●361 In 1912 a church was built at the kampong lama of Riang Kamië (this is another example of how much and how recently these kampongs have been moved from place to place). In fact, only in these years, all kampongs except Lewoneda were still in the hills. Wailolong was moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in 1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present location.

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614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u
[764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
621 but once they were one. There was a man named
●[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

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166 578 614 769 will give me food when I am dead?" This is exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in that there must be descendants to make sacrifices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 361 778 [166] This led to a discussion in regard to the guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong has such a ro, called naga, and its abode is in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc., [756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just an empty place and some stones. The old tree has evidently died, as he says they do not cut them down. No one would dare live in that place again. They may go there occasionally if there is a reason to do so, but they do not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have the story. When the kampong moves, they get a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga happy, or the situation may become dangerous. Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place from time to time the occupants place eggs, rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family apartment or section has a little hanging shelf for the house naga's food. The main post is especially important, and that is why at ceremonies they must give it blood from animals, etc. (There must be a link here with the giving of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke; note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[776] or another the house naga is no longer any good. Then they must dismantle the house and build a new one. Many and many a house has been torn down and the folk have then built a new one for this reason. And when they do this, a great expense is entailed, because they may not use the old wood. They sell it to another family